

Message Text

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY MAPUTO
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 306770

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PPDC, TZ, US

SUBJECT: NYERERE LETTER TO PRESIDENT CARTER

FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF A LETTER DATED DECEMBER 13 FROM
PRESIDENT NYERERE TO PRESIDENT CARTER WHICH WAS DELIVERED
TO THE DEPARTMENT DECEMBER 21 BY THE TANZANIAN EMBASSY:

QUOTE

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT,

I APPRECIATE THE KINDNESS OF YOUR MESSAGE TO ME FOR
TANZANIA'S 16TH ANNIVERSARY. IT HAS BEEN, AND IS, A PERSONAL
PLEASURE TO ME TO BE ABLE TO WORK WITH YOU AND YOUR
ADMINISTRATION FOR THE CAUSE OF SOUTHERN AFRICAN LIBERATION.

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AS YOU WILL KNOW, I HAVE HAD A NUMBER OF DISCUSSIONS RECENTLY
WITH YOUR VERY ABLE AMBASSADOR, HIS EXCELLENCY JIM SPAIN.
I AM SURE THAT HE HAS REPORTED FULLY ON THESE MATTERS TO
YOU AND TO SECRETARY VANCE. MY MAIN CONCERN ON RHODESIA
NOW IS THAT THE ANGLO-AMERICAN PROPOSALS SHOULD BE MOVED
FORWARD. THERE HAS BEEN SOME LOSS OF MOMENTUM AS WE HAVE
ALLOWED OUR ATTENTION TO BE DISTRACTED BY IAN SMITH'S

LATEST 'INTERNAL SETTLEMENT' CALL AND BY THE SUGGESTION
THAT ELECTIONS SHOULD BE HELD ONLY AFTER INDEPENDENCE.

ABOUT THE 'INTERNAL SETTLEMENT' TALKS I DO NOT THINK IT
IS NECESSARY FOR ME TO SAY MUCH. SMITH'S CONVERSION TO
'ONE-MAN ONE-VOTE' ELECTIONS (IF INDEED HE IS CONVERTED,
OF WHICH I AM BY NO MEANS CONVINCED) HAS COME TOO LATE TO
BE OF POLITICAL RELEVANCE. THE TIME WHEN HE COULD HAVE
BEEN ALLOWED TO PARTICIPATE IN THE SHAPING OF ZIMBABWE'S
FUTURE HAS ALREADY PASSED; SMITH HAS TO GO, AND HIS
ARMY HAS TO GO.

BUT I THINK IT IS NECESSARY FOR US TO SAY THAT AGAIN,
AND PUBLICLY. WE HAVE TO MAKE IT CLEAR THAT ALL
SUPPORTERS OF THE ANGLO-AMERICAN PROPOSALS ARE COMMITTED
TO THEM AND DETERMINED TO IMPLEMENT THEM, AND THAT AN
'INTERNAL SETTLEMENT' IS REJECTED OUT OF HAND, WITH ITS
DETAILS BEING IRRELEVANT. MY OWN BELIEF IS THAT ONCE OUR
DETERMINATION IS ABSOLUTELY CLEAR, THE NATIONALISTS WHO
ARE INSIDE RHODESIA WILL BE ONLY TOO HAPPY TO GO ALONG
WITH US. FOR I THINK THEY HAVE BEEN INVEIGLED INTO THE
PRESENT TALKS BECAUSE THEY FELT THE ANGLO-AMERICAN
PROPOSALS WERE COMING TO NOTHING. ALL THE NATIONALISTS
SUPPORTED THE PROPOSALS WHEN THEY WERE FIRST ANNOUNCED.

THE PROBLEM ABOUT WHEN THE ELECTIONS SHOULD BE HELD NOW
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SEEMS TO BE BEHIND US, WITH THE ORIGINAL IDEA STILL
INTACT. OUR JOB THEREFORE IS TO MAKE SURE THAT SMITH
DOES GO BEFORE THE TRANSITION ADMINISTRATION TAKES OVER
(FOR WHICH I AM RELYING UPON YOURSELVES AND THE BRITISH),
AND THAT CONDITIONS ARE ESTABLISHED IN WHICH ELECTIONS
CAN BE HELD WITH REASONABLE FREEDOM FROM INTIMIDATION
FROM ANY QUARTER. I DO NOT MYSELF THINK WE CAN EXPECT
MORE THAN THAT. I HOPE TO SEE A STRONG UNITED NATIONS
FORCE IN RHODESIA DURING THE INTERIM, AS WELL AS CIVILIAN
OBSERVERS OF THE ELECTIONS, BUT I SHOULD BE VERY SUR-
PRISED INDEED IF THERE WERE NO JUSTIFIABLE COMPLAINTS
AFTERWARDS; THE HISTORY OF VIOLENCE AND INTIMIDATION
IN RHODESIA IS VERY LONG. ALL THAT WE CAN DO (AND THIS
SHOULD, IN MY VIEW, BE POSSIBLE) IS TO GET A SITUATION
WHERE THE OVERALL RESULT CAN REASONABLY BE SAID TO REFLECT
THE WISHES OF THE PEOPLE OF ZIMBABWE ABOUT THEIR OWN
POST-INDEPENDENCE LEADERSHIP.

HAVING MADE CLEAR OUR CONTINUED COMMITMENT AND DETERMINA-
TION TO GO AHEAD WITH THE PROPOSALS, I THINK THE NEXT
TASK IS TO CLARIFY A LITTLE MORE WHAT IS TO BE THE ROLE
OF LORD CARVER, THE UNITED NATIONS, AND THE NATIONALISTS,

DURING THE INTERIM. I DO NOT THINK IT IS UNREASONABLE FOR THE PATRIOTIC FRONT IN PARTICULAR TO ASK FOR MORE INFORMATION ON THIS, AND TO INSIST THAT THEY MUST HAVE AN IMPORTANT ROLE TO PLAY.

I AM NOT SUGGESTING THAT OTHER NATIONALIST GROUPS SHOULD NOT ALSO PLAY A ROLE DURING THE INTERIM; UNLESS THEY DO SO THEY WILL HAVE DOUBTS ABOUT THE REALITY OF THEIR EQUAL OPPORTUNITY IN THE PLANNED ELECTIONS. BUT I DO NOT THINK WE CAN EQUATE THE NATIONALIST GROUPS WHICH ARE PURSUING THE ARMED STRUGGLE WITH THOSE WHICH ARE NOT. THE FORMER HAVE TO GIVE UP CONTROL OF THEIR GUNS IN EXCHANGE FOR THE PROMISE OF FREEDOM FOR THEIR COUNTRY. BUT WE ALL EXPECT THEM TO PLAY A CRUCIAL ROLE
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IN THE MAINTENANCE OF LAW AND ORDER DURING THE INTERIM. THE OTHER GROUPS GAIN THE ASSURANCE OF AN INDEPENDENCE OTHERWISE BEYOND THEIR GRASP AT ANY TIME, AND AN OPPORTUNITY TO CONTEST ELECTIONS - WHICH THEY ALSO MAY OR MAY NOT WIN.

IT IS NOT GOING TO BE EASY TO WORK ALL THIS OUT FAIRLY, ESPECIALLY AS THE PATRIOTIC FRONT LEADERS ARE SUSPICIOUS OF AGAIN GIVING UP THE ARMED STRUGGLE WITHOUT HAVING THE DATE OF INDEPENDENCE UNDER THEIR CONTROL. BUT IF IT IS MADE CLEAR THAT A CEASE FIRE IS NOT EXPECTED TO COME INTO OPERATION UNTIL THE DAY THAT SMITH HAS GONE, AND THAT HIS GOING WILL BE SIMULTANEOUS WITH THE TAKING OVER OF LORD CARVER AND THE INTRODUCTION OF UNITED NATIONS FORCES, THEN I THINK IT WILL BE POSSIBLE TO WORK SOMETHING OUT IN NEGOTIATIONS. I WILL CERTAINLY DO MY BEST TO HELP IT BECOME POSSIBLE.

I HAVE WRITTEN TO PRIME MINISTER CALLAGHAN, MAKING THESE POINTS, AND URGING THAT BRITAIN SHOULD MAKE A FURTHER ATTEMPT TO GET A MEETING WITH THE NATIONALISTS AFTER THEIR FEARS HAVE BEEN ASSUAGED. I WAS MYSELF SORRY THAT THE PATRIOTIC FRONT DECLINED THE INVITATION OF DR. OWEN, ALTHOUGH I UNDERSTAND THEIR DECISION. BUT THE REASONS THEY GAVE FOR THAT REFUSAL DO LEAVE A POSSIBILITY OF THEM CHANGING THEIR MIND IF THEY ARE REASSURED ABOUT THE REJECTION OF AN INTERNAL SETTLEMENT AND IF THEY CAN DISCUSS THE PROPOSALS FOR THE INTERIM - WHICH LATTER I BELIEVE THE BRITISH ARE READY TO DO.

IT SEEMS TO ME, HOWEVER, TO BE IMPORTANT THAT WE SHOULD NOW BEGIN TO MOVE FAST. SMITH IS A VERY CUNNING POLITICIAN, AND PARTICULARLY ADEPT AT SEWING SUSPICION
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AMONG HIS OPPONENTS. ONLY WHILE WE ARE CLEARLY MOVING FORWARD CAN WE PREVENT HIM FROM UNNECESSARILY CONFUSING THE ISSUE.

MR. PRESIDENT: THIS IS A LONG REPLY TO YOUR GREETINGS' BUT I KNOW THAT YOU, LIKE MYSELF, WANT THE WAR IN RHODESIA TO BE BROUGHT TO AN END BY THE TRANSFER OF POWER TO THE PEOPLE OF ZIMBABWE, SO I MAKE NO APOLOGIES FOR PUTTING THESE THOUGHTS BEFORE YOU NOW.

THIS LETTER COMES TO YOU WITH MY WARM PERSONAL GOOD WISHES.

YOURS SINCERELY, JULIUS K. NYERERE. END QUOTE
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Review Exemptions: n/a
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